economic activities and although, formerly, there were organised hunts, today hunting is not much practised. 105

LUO EXPANSION

Until the time of European intervention the Luo appear to have been gradually expanding towards the south. This resulted in their division into two parts (on the north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf) namely: the Luo of Central Kavirondo and the Luo of Southern Kavirondo. Evans-Pritchard writes, "The southwards migration seems to have been across the Gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it, and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if genealogies are to be trusted, about seven generations ago. Across the Gulf the Luo came up against the Bantu (Kavirondo) and Nilo-Hamitic (Langu) tribes."(1) The assimilation and absorption of these tribes was incomplete at the time of European occupation of the country. During this process of expansion there was a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found in both Central and South Kavirondo. The Luo tribes least influenced by the Bantu are the Uyoma, Sakwa and Asembo and such tribes as pushed the southernmost Luo into Bantu country. 174

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations which vary considerably in area and population. These locations, according to Evans-Pritchard, correspond approximately to the old tribal areas of the Luo. The expansion of the Luo has divided them into two main groups with Kisumu location forming a narrow territorial link between them: 631 101

1. The Luo of Central Kavirondo, known as *Joiye* (the inside people).

2. The Luo of Southern Kavirondo, known as *Jooko* (the outside people).(2)

THE TRIBE *(Piny)*

Among the Luo the tribe is an autonomous political unit. Like the Nuer tribes it may be defined in terms of the way in which homicide was formerly regarded and treated. 619 682

Compensation for homicide *(cut)* takes the form of handing over cattle, or a girl, to the kinsmen of a slain man so that heirs may be raised for him. Compensation is only paid for the killing of a tribesman, for men of other tribes, slain in war, raids or private conflict, are regarded as *wasiga*, enemies. On the other hand, compensation is not paid for killing a clansman, for such a deed is regarded as a sin, and propitiation and atonement have to be made by the sacrifice of an ox provided by the inme-

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.2.
(2) *Ibid.*

619 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan. It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in
682 the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thim* - a
766 stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same tribe there was no *thim*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the *thim* and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

619 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

613 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*,
614 has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the name of the clan or larger lineage an and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans maximal lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

836 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognised form of love-making called *codo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the
582 separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less ap-
583 proved type of marriage *(por)* may be permitted. This is marriage by abduction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(aeko)* when the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

582 A man is forbidden to marry a women who is a *wat*, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.4.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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3

Each Luo tribe (*piny*), coterminus in the main, as has been said, with the present administrative location, was an autonomous political unit. As among the Nuer, one of the chief characteristics of a Luo tribe, and one by which its autonomy may be defined, is to be found in the different ways in which homicide was regarded and treated in pre-European days. There were local variations but in general the principle followed was that *cut*, compensation (a girl or cattle for a kinsman of the slain man to marry a wife with and raise heirs to his name,) was paid only for the killing of a fellow tribesman. No *cut* was paid for killing men of another tribe in war, raids, or as an outcome of the ritual demonstration called *buru*, [1] for they were *wasigu*, enemies, and a state of feud between the lineages involved, and sometimes of war between the two tribes, developed. Likewise no compensation could be paid for slaying a clansman, but atonement was made by the sacrifice of an ox, provided by the kin of the slayer and eaten by representatives of the whole clan, who might moreover insist on the slayer marrying a wife to the name of the dead man. The line of political cleavage between tribe and tribe thus ran through the points at which the obligation to pay compensation or make atonement for homicides ended for a particular group of people and it is so regarded by the Luo themselves. For example, when the Uyoma people and the Asembo people lived in the same territory they paid compensation for homicide between them but when they separated they ceased to pay it.

In tribes in which the tribesmen, except for some small lineages of strangers (*jodak*) intermingled with the dominant clan, are all members of the same clan, such as Karacuonyo tribe, compensation for homicide was not, or was rarely, paid, because the strangers had close kinship links with the dominant clan and would, I was told, have refused compensation in cattle, though they might have accepted a girl, since had they done so they would have emphasized a distinction they were anxious to obliterate. It was only in tribes in which there were beside the dominant clan other powerful lineages occupying their own lands within the tribal territory, as the Jokakan and Kaluo in Alego, that *cut* was paid regularly for homicide and could be enforced by appeal to arms. In other words, where there was considerable political cohesion, expressed in terms of clanship, the killing of a man was treated as a sin; where there were marked sectional interests within the political unit of the tribe it was treated as a tort; and where there were social links but political separateness it was treated, unless it was a wanton act of individual homicide, as provocation to a feud but without moral disapproval or means of legal settlement.

The political boundary, which in its moral dimension signified a balanced hostility between adjacent tribal groups, had its material expression in the *thim*. The *thim* was a stretch of bush country, the home of buffalo,

[1] If a man of one tribe killed a man of a different tribe in a personal quarrel, and not in war raiding, feud, or ritual demonstration, he might pay compensation in cattle, e.g. if a Karacuonyo man killed for some private reason a Kocia man who was taking cattle to his in-laws in Karacuonyo territory.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief. 554

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen. 685 791 787

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage. 684 837 586 836

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members 787 695 682 783

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and exogamous group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled. When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment of the maximal lineage, it is *masira*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his relative and stay by the grave until *chola* (the first mourning period) is finished. He must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to the level at which general relations cease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which hostility is the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *oche* (in-laws) and *wasigu* (enemies) as almost interchangeable terms.

The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *simba* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on potsherds and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to prove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's sending of *roch kade* (the 'heifer of the stick'), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *simba*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home. The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *kisera* is held. This completes the statutory twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some statistics of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which murder is treated in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and assistance given in marriage payments. My stay was too short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that such a coincidence is very vague, and it is certainly not consciously present in the minds of the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 5–10. Despite its importance among the Nuer, the obligation of ghost marriage is far from universal among Nilotic peoples. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kenya Luo nor by the Alur nor, probably, the Acoli.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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goals which have been carefully weighed and assessed as to the possible supernatural and social consequences. The Joluo believe that a goal does not justify the means if the means require violence, unless all methods of arbitration, conciliation, appeal to authority, both temporal and supernatural, have been tried and proved to be unsuccessful or inadequate.

Violence requires cleansing—physical and spiritual cleansing of the most exacting nature—to avoid the supernatural consequences (*chira*) which violence may bring in its wake. One case has been recorded which contains an excellent description of the ceremonial and ritual cleansing thought to be essential after a murder. This particular murder was planned and executed by a group which, after years of thought and effort to resolve the conflict without violence, finally resorted to murder. Obviously, with the coming of the European, other factors were involved to escape detection for an act which in the old days would have given the group high status within its own community and which would have created feuds or precipitated a war that ultimately would have been resolved by blood compensation or schism of the political unit and migration by the weakest group.

Violence which arises immediately and unpremeditatively from quarrels, drinking, infidelity, sex, marital tensions, or family differences, and which results in a death, is not regarded in the same way as predetermined action decided upon as a last resort. Ceremonial cleansing is still necessary but does not take the extreme form because these acts are regarded by the Luo as bringing consequences which affect the individual only, that is *kwer*, and not *chira*, which affects the group, clan, or tribe as a whole. Fortunately British law makes a similar distinction: that between murder and manslaughter. It will be found therefore that the majority of cases involving Joluo which have come before the courts of Kenya as murder cases are resolved and punished as cases of manslaughter. The Joluo do not, however, understand why many of those convicted un-

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der the head of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings *chira* to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogweng*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakwaro*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuoro*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jadak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

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avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe, Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solution was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan, and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the eponym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some idea of the Joluo attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes, for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide. The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the afterworld, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

The Joluo had developed several devices to deal with cases of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a murdered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jokawiny*)

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159 the murdered man, to mourn his death, to placate his spirit,
768 and to retain the grey ash medicine left over from the first
769 cleansing to be used when necessary to remove the danger of his ghost returning to harm members of the clan. An old woman past child bearing, *pim*, was selected and agreed to perform these functions. She was given animals for this service and a hut was built for her outside the village, where she placated the spirit of the dead man.

159 Most Joluo will agree that when a witch is killed, the dead
● 682 man's relatives do not take legal action but try to cover up the
754 incident. This is not difficult in Luo society. One case did, however, occur during the period of this study which could not be hidden from the authorities.

Case No. 2.

A youth of seventeen was escorting his sister from a marriage ceremony back to their village some miles away. It was late at night or early in the morning, time could not accurately be assessed, when suddenly an apparition appeared in the path of the couple. It was a naked man—swerving, jumping, screaming, and brandishing fire which glowed red as he waved his arms. The night was very dark and to the young couple the apparition appeared as a ghost. The woman fled the way she had come but the youth in his frantic effort to escape stumbled and fell. The "ghost" was on top of him instantly, clawing at his face and throat. The youth had a sheath knife in his belt and frantically struck out blindly several times as he managed to struggle free. He fled back to the village from which he came. A party of youths and men armed themselves and set out to search for and kill the witch but were unable to find the exact spot in the darkness.

159 Next morning a body was found, naked, and with several
682 stab wounds on it. The man was identified, and the finder,

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ignorant of the previous night's events, notified the police. Thus the story was out.

The Joluo were concerned that the youth should have been arrested and charged with murder. He was acquitted after trial on the grounds of self-defense, but the opinion remained that he should have had praise and not have suffered the indignity of being held in custody which, to the unsophisticated, was punishment and prison.

The Joluo discipline wives and children, when it is thought necessary, by beating and kicking. One or two cases each year come to the courts as a result of excessive force resulting in the death of a victim of discipline. Out of 46 cases between 1949 and 1954, 10 were of this type.

The largest number of murder cases today arises from drunken quarrels during beer parties. Native beer does not have a high alcoholic content, but a beer-drink often begins at mid-morning and continues well into the night and, on special occasions, until the next day. The quantity consumed therefore frequently produces an acute state of drunkenness. Of the 46 cases, no fewer than 12 can be classified as the result of excessive beer drinking. These cases, without exception, were finally treated by the courts as manslaughter.

Family quarrels, often over bride-wealth payments, account for a few cases every year. A typical case of this type is as follows.

Case No. 3.

In 1949, the Accused caught his wife in the act of adultery with an acquaintance. The wife returned to her father's village, as is the custom in such cases, and made several efforts to elope with her lover. On each occasion, her brothers forcefully restrained her and threatened her lover with a severe beating or death, should he attempt to elope with their sister. After several weeks of argument and numerous meetings of the eld-

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159 ers of the clans involved in the case, the husband went to the
628 village of his wife and took ten head of cattle by force from
684 her father's herd. This action is approved in customary law after the elders have met and discussed the matter and are unable to resolve it by any other method.

Naturally the brothers of the girl were extremely angry that their sister should have behaved in this way that meant the loss of animals which they, no doubt, had planned to use for their own bride-wealth. The girl remained unrepentant and troublesome. She stated that she was determined to return to her former husband's village to collect her clothes, and that she would leave her brothers and her former husband in order to join her lover. Her brothers followed her to the village of her former husband and there began to quarrel. Her former husband joined the group, and the three decided to teach this woman a lesson. They beat her with sticks until she was dead.

● [682] The court took a lenient view and decided that their intention was not to kill the woman but merely to discipline her, and each of the Accused was sentenced to six months hard labor for manslaughter.

The next case also arose out of bride-wealth.

Case No. 4.

159 In 1949, a woman left her husband to live with her lover.
684 Her husband tried through indigenous and legal channels to
583 get his bride-wealth returned. The woman's father, however, had used the animals and could not return them, although he was sympathetic. The husband, therefore, was left with only one course, to demand the return of his wife. To this end, he went to the village of her lover and threatened him. They began to quarrel and to fight. Each was armed, the lover with a spear and the Accused, the husband, with a *panga* and a knife. The lover was killed and the husband charged with murder.

159 In this case, the court decided that this was manslaughter,
682

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and the Accused was sentenced to three years' hard labor. The sequel to the case is that the wife was repentant and returned to the village of her husband and was there to welcome him on his return from prison.

Polygamy is the desired goal in marriage in Luo society. The word for co-wife in the Luo language is *nyieko*, which also means jealousy of an intense kind. The jealousy between co-wives occasionally ends in quarrels which result in the murder of one or the other.

Case No. 5.

A quarrel developed between the senior and most junior wife, when the latter accused the former of trying to poison her child. Her child was an adopted child, being a child of the deceased second wife of their common husband. When a woman dies, it is customary for the husband to decide which of his wives should act as foster mother to her children. This quarrel began because the senior wife had demanded custody of the child but the husband decided to place the child in the care of the junior wife, who had no sons. The argument went on for years. The child became ill and the junior wife was convinced that he was poisoned by the senior wife. A quarrel developed and the junior wife, who had just returned from the fields with a *panga* in her hands, struck the senior wife, killing her instantly.

Again the court decided that this was a case of manslaughter, and the accused was sentenced to four years' hard labor.

The Joluo people have a custom at marriages of "pulling the girl" to the village of the groom. Traditionally, the brothers and friends of the girl should resist this "capture." In fact, however, the marriage has been arranged by them and both parties are fully aware that this is a mock battle. On occasion these fights become a spirited and serious "free for all." From time to time, therefore, one or more of the party is seriously

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583 injured and not infrequently death results. Indigenously the
●682 method of resolving this situation is to cancel the arrangements of the wedding which was to have taken place and to continue these arrangements to marry a girl to the dead man. If the dead man is from the party of the prospective groom, the girl is married to his name. If the death has occurred among the relatives or friends of the girl, then a bride is chosen from the relatives of her prospective husband to marry in the name of the dead man. Whenever possible, this custom is followed today. The authorities, however, naturally prosecute in cases of this kind. The result is usually manslaughter, and the sentence is a light one.

682 There are cases in which it is difficult to determine whether the death was caused intentionally or accidentally. For example: a food which is now becoming increasingly used is the
[262] cassava root, and raw cassava contains cyanogenic glucoside which, when acidified by gastric fluid, forms hydrogen cyanide and is therefore a virulent poison in this form. Adequate cooking destroys this poisonous principle, and most Luo women clearly understand this. Therefore, when the death occurred of a child who had consumed cassava which had been prepared and given by a co-wife, its mother's suspicion was immediately aroused. She accused the co-wife of giving the poison intentionally. It is very difficult, however, to prove, as in the case mentioned, that death was caused intentionally and not accidentally by the ignorance of the co-wife. The case was dismissed by the court.

586 The sequel, however, was that the husband did not accept the explanation of ignorance and divorced the woman because, as he stated, "there would never be peace in my village. It is obvious what this witch has done and although she has been a good wife to me, she has broken my village and killed my child. I therefore will divorce her and get my cattle back to marry some woman who is not a witch."

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ABBREVIATIONS IN THE CASE CHARTS

● 682

Acc	Accused
Access	Accessory
Acq	Acquitted
Ad	Adult
Aff	Affine
Ag	Agnate
Appr	Approved
B	Brother
BinL	Brother-in-law
Bond	Bonded over
"C"	"Cousin"
Ch	Child
Chg wtd	Charge withdrawn
cl	Classifactory
Comm	Commuted
D	Daughter
D	Death (when used in Judgment column)
d	Day
Dec	Deceased
F	Father
f	Female
FinL	Father-in-law
G	Guilty
GmuD	Guilty murder, death
Hgd	Hanged
HL	Hard labor
Hosp	Hospital

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ABBREVIATIONS, continued

• 682

Imp	Imprisonment
Ins	Insane
Ki	Kinsman
m	Male
M	Mother
MinL	Mother-in-law
Mist	Mistress
mo	Month
msl	Manslaughter
mu	Murder
N	None
N.G.	Not guilty
No rec	No record
N.P.	Nolle Prosequi
Prob	Probation
Rel	Released
S	Son
U	Unknown
W	Wife
Wid	Widow
y	Year
yB	Younger brother
Yg	Young
Z	Sister

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LUO HOMICIDE

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No.	Accused Sex	Accused Age	Victim Sex	Victim Age	Kin Rel	Weapon	Judgment Sentence	Remarks
1.	m	U	m	U	U	Club	Dis	Quarrel over woman at dance and beer drink. Lack of evidence.
2.	m	U	f	U	W	Beating	Dis	Quarrel during preparation of beer.
3.	f	U	f	U	CoW	Panga	Cmsl 4yHL	Jealousy (NYIEKO) between wives over custody of orphaned child.
4.	m	U	f	U	CoWD	Poison	Dis	Inadequate cooking of raw cassava.
5.	2m	U	f	U	Z	Stick	6moHL	Bridewealth dispute. Dec tried to leave husband for lover. Her brothers killed her.
6.	m	U	m	U	Ag	Panga	3yHL	Quarrel when drinking.
7.	m	U	m	U	U	Spear	Cmsl	Dec took acc's wife.
8.	m	U	f	U	W	U	Dis	Medical report could not determine cause of death.
9.	2m	U	m	U	Ki	Stick	Dis	Both drunk. Quarrel at dance and beer drink over girl.
10.	m	U	m	U	Ki	Fight	Not proven	Dec had reported a theft committed by acc.
11.	m	Yg	m	U	Ki	Stick	3yHL	Drink and "Bhang".
12.	2m	U	m	U	Ag	Fight	Rel	Dec refused to return plow chains. Fight ensued.
13.	m	U	f	U	W	Club	3yHL	Discipline. Woman was lazy.
14.	m	U	m	U	U	Stick	Dis	Cattle were allowed to stray. Death after beating.
15.	m	U	f m	U U	W Ki	Spear	Cmsl	Quarrel over wife. Acc bound over for sh. 100.
16.	m	U	f	U	W	Kick	Dis	Acc claimed he kicked at dog and hit wife by accident.
17.	m	15	m	U	F	Knife	Prob 3y	Killed father after having been out all night.
18.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	Dis	Argument over property. No evidence.
19.	m	Yg	m	U	U	Spear	Dis	Acc a juvenile, confused. Killed playmate.
20.	3m	U	m	U	U	Knife	Acq	All drunk. Dec stabbed a man. Others beat him.
21.	f	U	f	U	U	Axe	Ins	Quarrelled about food.
22.	9m	U	m	U	U	Spear	1Cd 1.9dis	Avenging father's death. Father wrongfully imprisoned by dec and died as result. Acc 1 released on appeal.
23.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	6yHL	Quarrel at beer party.
24.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	6yHL	Quarrel at beer party.
25.	m	U	m	U	U	Spear	Rel bond	Dec stealing cattle.
26.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	8yHL	Quarrel over debt at drinking party.
27.	m	U	m	U	Ki	Knife	1yHL	Beer. Quarrel among kinsmen.
28.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	Cmo	With 4 friends tried to "pull" girl. Dec killed in trying to stop them.
29.	m	U	f	U	W	Stick	Chg wtd	Discipline.
30.	f	U	m	U	U	Stone	3mo prison	Quarrel about making a fire.
31.	m	U	m	U	B	Knife	Dis	Quarrel in bed between brothers. Drunk.
32.	m	U	m	U	U	Club	Chg wtd	Drunk.